1: Jenness--84
116, 582, 597, 835

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Adopted children are classed as real children; an adopted child, for example, may not marry the real child. The same rule naturally applies to half-brothers and half-sisters. The girl above mentioned eventually married her step-cousin, so there is a limit to the restriction in this case. An interesting point in regard to this marriage is that the step-cousin was also the adopted son of the girl's step-father."

1: Jenness--91 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 597

"Even children are regarded in some respects as the property of their parents. It is the parents, for example, who decide whether a newly-born babe shall be reared or not. If it is cast out alive another couple may recover it and rear it as their own child without payment, the parents having lost all claim; but in all ordinary cases of adoption the parents must be compensated before they will relinquish their rights. Ikpakhuak paid the father of Haugak (the mother being dead) a knife and a wooden dish for the boy; thereafter the father ceased to have any claim on him, and he became a member of Ikpakhuak's family."

1: Jenness--160 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 597, 586, 839

"Ikpakhuak adopted an orphan girl named Arnauguk, or Kila. In the spring of 1915 she married a young man Aiyalligak with whom she lived until the winter. For some reason or other he divorced her, and she fell back on Ikpakhuak's hands again. Ikpakhuak married her three or four weeks later to the young divorcee Kikpak. One evening, as she was returning from the dance-house, a man who already had a wife of his own tried to drag her to his hut and force her to spend the night with him. She struggled to release herself, and with the assistance of two other girls tumbled him into the snow and escaped to her hut. Kikpak divorced her after they had been married only a fortnight, and for many months she remained single again, though several natives made overtures to her. Finally she married a western Eskimo from the Mackenzie river delta."

1. Jenness--165 -166 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
597

"It is little wonder therefore if the younger women in particular refuse to rear some of their children. Sometimes another family will adopt the babe, though more usually it is an older child that is adopted, since the new-born infant requires its mother's milk. Early in 1914 Higilak arranged to adopt the little daughter of a man named Wikkiak, whose wife was then on the eve of giving birth to another child; the parents received a pot and a knife as the [166] price of the adoption. After the baby was born, however, they decided to keep all their children, and rather unscrupulously went back on the agreement without restoring either of the articles, the pot or the knife."

1: Jenness--167 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
597

"....when a Dolphin and Union strait woman named Keyuk exposed her baby without first suffocating it, another woman rescued it and reared it as her own child. The mother seems to forfeit all claim to it in such cases even when the child grows up."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

few more miles. Even the little children had work to do, for this harvest season would last only until May, when the breaking up of the sea-ice would drive the natives from their sealing to fish and hunt caribou on the land.

It was time now to decide what my own movements should be during the summer months, and I suggested to Ikpuck that I might join his train to Victoria Island, taking my own outfit. The old man was delighted with the plan, and, having no children of his own, formally adopted me into his family, which consisted of himself and his wife Icehouse, Sculpin or Jennie, Icehouse's daughter by a former marriage, and an adopted nephew named Knife-Blade. The Runner, a married son of Icehouse, intended to join the party; probably also two or three families of near kinsmen. The entire band would assemble on the ice within the next three or four weeks, when Ikpuck would send word to me at the station. In the meantime I could travel east with Cox, who needed a companion and a dog-team for surveying a portion of the coast-line.

The short trip with Cox was a pleasant change from constant association with the Eskimos; it was like moving from one world into another. Yet we could not avoid the natives entirely. Two families were hunting large bearded seals in a bay a few miles east of our station, and a small band had camped near Cape

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

Ikpuck turned to me. "Did you see her?" he asked. 574
But Icehouse cut short my reply. "The ridiculous 837
creature. She can't dance, she can't even sing, but she's shameless enough to make love to a handsome man like you, Ikpuck. Did you ever see such an uncouth woman?"

Her tirade seemed never-ending. Even Ikpuck 593
wearied of it, though her flattering remarks about his good looks pleased his vanity. The poor woman was passionately fond of her husband, and the incident rankled in her memory for months. Gossiping with others she might mock the high-pitched voice and awkward gestures of her Tormiat rival, but in secret she brooded fearfully. She remembered her earlier widowhood, when her beauty was at its height and Ikpuck had divorced his first wife in order to marry her. They had hoped she would give him a son to sustain him in his old age; but their marriage was fruitless. Now she was growing old. Would he send her also away and take some younger woman who might grant him his heart's desire?

Icehouse had no reason for alarm. Ikpuck reciprocated her affection, and his thoughts never strayed to other fields. The old couple bickered like children, but their petty quarrels only held them more closely together. Every one knew that Icehouse's [597]
shrewd tongue concealed a generous heart, and little Knife-Blade, their adopted child, satisfied

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

574 all directions, and the whole band of the Musk-ox
123 tribe surrounded us, every household vying with the others in offering us hospitality. Girling went to one house, Patsy and I to another, and The Runner lodged with his brother.

602 This "brother" puzzled me. If Icehouse had only one son, as I had always understood, why did The
[597] Runner call the man his brother? Of course, he might
[601] be an adopted son like myself, but the Eskimos usually distinguished an adopted kinsman by adding a special suffix to the term of relationship. The mystery was
[837] soon explained. A quarter of a century earlier Ice-
[851] house's first husband had met the young man's father in this region and established a permanent relationship with him by a temporary exchange of wives. Although the youth was not born until three or four years afterward, The Runner considered him a true brother from whom he could claim all a brother's
[123] rights and privileges; and I, though a stranger and a white man, was his adopted brother, with a similar claim to his friendship and help.

572 When the villagers gathered for a dance that eve-
574 ning The Runner found still another connection. A Musk-ox man and his wife hailed him as their "dancing-companion," declaring that he had filled that rôle for them many years before when they were visiting Dolphin and Union Strait. In virtue of this relationship they claimed the right to extend the village's